

April, 1973

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Established 1887

WEATHER FORECAST - PARIS:
11-15 (21-23). Tomorrow
day's temp. 12-18 (20-22). Low
cloudy, showers. Temp. 10-14
today. Yesterday's temp. 10-14
CHANNING: Moderate. BOMBS:
7-10 (15-18). NEW YORK: Rainy
(16-21). Yesterday's temp. 64-69



Nixon being warmly greeted by crowd after his Armed Forces Day speech.

Nixon Sees Hanoi Balk On GI Data Demands Details On Missing Men

By R.W. Apple Jr.
NORFOLK, Va., May 20 (NYT). President Nixon said yesterday that Hanoi had "persisted in violations" of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement and had failed to provide adequate information about the fate of missing American servicemen.

The cooperation which North Vietnam promised to give us in making a full accounting for Americans missing in action has not been satisfactory, the President told an Armed Forces Day crowd alongside the aircraft carrier Independence, which returned to Norfolk on short notice for the occasion.

"We must and we will insist that this promise, this pledge, this solemn agreement be kept," he said.

It was Mr. Nixon's first tough comment on the question of the missing servicemen, most of whom were shot down over North Vietnam and Laos during air raids. He has been urged by former prisoners of war and others to bring pressure on Hanoi for a fuller accounting.

The President, who seemed relaxed and confident during his brief speech, did not mention the Watergate scandal, either directly or indirectly. He praised the military, spoke of his own foreign-policy initiatives and promised continuing efforts to put a true cease-fire into effect in Vietnam.

"It would be a crime against the memory of those Americans who made the ultimate sacrifice for peace in Indochina, and a serious blow to this country's ability to lead constructively elsewhere in the world," he said.

"For us to stand by and permit the settlement reached in Paris to be systematically destroyed, to work toward mutual and balanced reductions of the level of armed forces in Central Europe."

But he rejected proposals for deep cuts in budget appropriations for the armed forces. "There could be no more dangerous formula for failure in these negotiations, and no more dangerous invitation for other powers to break the peace," Mr. Nixon said.

Mr. Nixon said that he would be ready at his meetings with Leonid I. Brezhnev of the Soviet Union beginning on June 18, to seek additional ways to limit strategic nuclear arms to expand mutually advantageous trade relations, and together with our allies, to work toward mutual and balanced reductions of the level of armed forces in Central Europe.

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Leonid I. Brezhnev in Mercedes 450 SLC presented to him by Bonn government.

Gifted Soviet Driver Delays Bonn Signing

BONN, May 20 (AP)—Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev delayed his arrival for the signing of three Soviet-German cooperation agreements yesterday by 10 minutes so he could try out a new sports coupe presented to him by Chancellor Willy Brandt.

von Weizsaecker said that, immediately upon receiving the car, Mr. Brezhnev hopped behind the wheel of the silver-gray Mercedes 450 SLC and drove around in the vicinity of his hilltop, maximum security residence near Bonn.

The security officials were not inconsiderably excited, Mr. von Weizsaecker reported.

Brezhnev Focuses On Trade

Brandt Is Seeking Gains on Berlin

By John M. Goshko
BONN, May 20 (WP)—Chancellor Willy Brandt and Leonid I. Brezhnev settled down today to the main business of the Soviet Communist party chief's visit here—intensive private talks about future relations between their two countries.

The two leaders, joined at intervals by key aides, spent the day in almost continuous discussions. They relaxed only for lunch and for a small dinner given by Mr. Brandt, and even then they continued their talks while eating.

Yesterday they signed three agreements to promote greater economic and cultural cooperation. But the official harmony was marred by some discordant notes in the background. Clashes between police and anti-Brezhnev demonstrators resulted in mass arrests and forced the cancellation of festive plans for Mr. Brezhnev to visit the Ruhr city of Dortmund tomorrow.

300 Moslems Detained
This decision was made after police in Dortmund temporarily detained more than 300 members and supporters of the Marxist-leaning Communist party of Germany.

One of the agreements signed provides for greater efforts to increase trade and technological cooperation. Another is designed to promote expanded contacts on the cultural, academic and journalistic level between the two countries. The third accord, involving civil aviation, will give the Soviet airline, Aeroflot, landing rights in West Germany and the German line, Lufthansa, a route to the Far East by way of Moscow.

Of special significance is the speaking out of Bonn, right to represent West Berlin in implementing the cultural and economic agreements. The air traffic accord recognizes, in principle, Lufthansa's right to use the West Berlin airports.

These Berlin clauses are regarded as a sign of how anxious the Russians were to get the economic agreement lined up for signature. Moscow's desire for greater access to West German technology appears to be one of the main motivations behind Mr. Brezhnev's strategy of reconciliation with Bonn, and in pursuit of the talks, the Russians made important concessions on the touchy Berlin question.

Another sign of the importance played by trade and technology in Mr. Brezhnev's visit was his meeting yesterday afternoon with a group of important German industrialists and businessmen. Sources indicated that an agreement seems certain for German assistance in building a 41-billion steel plant in Siberia, and Mr. Brezhnev is known to be anxious for even greater technological aid and trade deals with German industry.

Spokesmen said that today Mr. Brandt and Mr. Brezhnev discussed such questions of East-West détente as the European security conference, being prepared in Helsinki, and the talks on military force reductions now under way in Vienna.

Since West Germany and the Soviet Union are key players in both sets of negotiations, their talks here are expected to have a direct effect on the progress of the Helsinki and Vienna discussions. In particular, Mr. Brandt is believed ready to tell Mr. Brezhnev that the Soviet Union is ready to accept the Helsinki accords.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

On McCord's Clemency Report

Senate Plan to Question Nixon

WASHINGTON, May 20 (NYT). J. Edwin D. McCord, a former White House aide, is highly improbable Watergate investigator will question or den statement from Nixon about any involvement in the scandal.

The committee's televised hearings resume Tuesday with McCord still the witness. He is expected to be questioned closely about his statement Friday that as security chief of the Committee for the Re-election of the President he received daily intelligence reports from the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department.

Committee investigators said they will want to know whether government wiretap information was included.

McCord's testimony is likely to lead the committee to call Robert C. Marland, former head of the Internal Security Division and later a leading campaign official.

The Senate committee had planned to lay the groundwork at its hearings by proceeding first with the break-in at the Democratic party headquarters last May 30 and again on June 17, when McCord and four others were arrested.

But McCord's allegations disrupted that timetable. One immediate result was scheduling former White House aide John Caulfield next to testify so he can be questioned about McCord's statements that Mr. Caulfield offered executive clemency and that the President was aware of the offer and wanted to know about the results.

Sen. Ervin, while noting that McCord's testimony was hearsay, said he was impressed with the former re-election committee security coordinator as a witness.

Mr. Caulfield, Sen. Ervin said, "may corroborate McCord to a very substantial degree, and may testify he met McCord three times in January, as McCord said. Mr. Caulfield said Friday that he met with McCord and gave him 'certain messages from a high White House official.' But in a statement read for television cameras, he said there were some differences in his recollection of the meetings and McCord's Senate testimony. Mr. Caulfield did not say what the differences were.

The New York Times said yesterday that Mr. Caulfield has told Senate investigators that when he offered executive clemency to McCord, he was aware of the offer and wanted to know about the results.

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IRS sources. The sources said that Mr. Caulfield tried unsuccessfully to get a special IRS agent to report to John D. Ehrlichman on intelligence gathered by the agency on C. Arnohth Smith, whose friendship and financial support of Mr. Nixon spans nearly three decades. Mr. Ehrlichman was Mr. Nixon's attorney on domestic affairs until he resigned April 30.

The sources said that what Mr. Caulfield was reported to have been asking the agent to do was a violation of federal law and agency regulations governing the disclosure of information.

Neither Mr. Caulfield nor Mr. Ehrlichman was available for comment on this matter.

The sources said the IRS agent

two of the soldiers who the blast had been waiting up to 10 days for four big tears working for the P.M. One of the girls, 16, the report said, after their preliminary the newspaper reported, the girls went to the dance hall to make a soldiers did not leave with booty-trapped the sold in the hotel parking lot.

Gain by Liber In Australia

MELBOURNE, May 20 (UPI)—The Liberal government has ruled the state of since 1953, has been ruled with an increased 17.

The victory is seen as a rebuff to the policies of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, who said the Liberal government out of power December after 33 years.

The election was the first tested by Premier Rupert who took over the leader the Liberal party in Victorian months ago on the retreat Sir Henry Bolte.

With returns incomplete likely outcome is 43 seats; Labor, 17; Country, 7, and one independent, w

General Support
Is Still Issue
ere Purged

in Skylab's Workshop ses Poisonous Gases

By Thomas O'Toole

ate Plan to
on McCord

KENNEDY, May 20 (AP)—High temperatures in the Skylab space station workshop could release some of the poisonous gases that the space agency says are a threat to the health of the Skylab astronauts, officials said yesterday.

Officials said the new Skylab workshop, which is the largest in the world, is a "respiratory irritant," Dr. Hawkins said, "that can be breathed into the lungs and cause bronchial spasms."

The cyanide and diisocyanate from the bubbles inside the polyurethane foam, they said, are being released by the chemical process that created and hardened the foam. The high heat that has pervaded the workshop since it lost its protective aluminum shield on Monday has caused this gas to boil out of the foam.

The heat also caused chemical changes that released the carbon monoxide.

The complete purge of the atmosphere involved a slow bleeding of it and depressurizing the workshop. Officials said the cabin would be purged several times before the astronauts visit the workshop this Friday.

"The plan is to fit some sensors to sample the air immediately upon entry and determine what levels of TDI (toluene diisocyanate) and carbon monoxide we would have left," Dr. Hawkins said. "The crew will also wear commercial gas masks on entry that will filter out any of the toxic gases that remain."

Officials hope the sunshade the crew will deploy around the workshop will end the leakage, which would continue as long as the temperatures inside the workshop are 100 degrees or more.

The astronauts will carry two sunshades made of a rip-proof material. Thinner than a newspaper, the shades have been sewn up into sail-like shapes that, when deployed, will fully protect the workshop from the sun's glare.

One shade can be attached to the workshop from the Apollo command craft to serve as the astronauts reach the space station. The other must be deployed from the airlock that connects the command craft to the workshop and cannot be done until next Saturday, the day after the crew arrives in earth orbit.

The astronauts will spend the first night inside their command craft without entering the workshop.

Three Gunned Down At Paris Café Table
PARIS, May 20 (Reuters).—Two masked gunmen shot three men dead in an apparent gangland execution at a Paris café yesterday.

Terrified customers saw the victims killed while they were eating lunch when three men with stockinged over their heads burst into the café and blazed away with automatic pistols. Police sources said the dead men had long criminal records and added that the killings were probably part of a war between gangs operating mainly in Marseille and Lyons.

Hoof and Mouth Disease Gains In Austria; Regime Criticized
VIENNA, May 20 (Reuters).—Furious farmers are bitterly accusing the government of complicity and negligence in the handling of the worst outbreak of hoof and mouth disease ever recorded in Austria.

Communism has been virtually paralyzed since May 1 when the authorities ordered the closure of schools and theaters in an attempt to contain the disease. Church services were stopped in danger regions in the Burgenland and Lower Austria provinces. Farmers are practically forced to remain in quarantine on many infected farms.

Animals Slaughtered
More than 20,000 pigs and 3,000 cattle have been slaughtered since January, Austria has spent about \$5 million to combat the outbreak. Slaughter houses are having difficulty coping with the situation and many infected carcasses are decaying on farms in the stricken regions.

Criticism of Austrian health authorities became particularly intense recently when newspapers reported dead animals had fallen off overloaded trucks during transport across infection-free areas.

Workers at Johnson Space Center in Houston sewing together materials which may be deployed by the astronauts over the crippled Skylab space station in orbit.



Workers at Johnson Space Center in Houston sewing together materials which may be deployed by the astronauts over the crippled Skylab space station in orbit.

Labeled as Agent Provocateur

Radical Identified as 'Weatherman' for FBI

By Seymour M. Hersh

WASHINGTON, May 20 (NYT).—One of the most militant and outspoken members of the radical Weathermen organization during its peak period of violence, in 1969 and early 1970, was an informant and agent provocateur for the FBI, private and government sources said yesterday.

The sources said that the informant, Larry D. Grantwohl, of Cincinnati, has acknowledged participating in bombings and violent demonstrations while working with various Weathermen groups around the country.

During 1970, the sources said, Mr. Grantwohl was often in direct contact with Guy L. Goodwin, the chief Justice Department official who was prosecuting criminal cases against the Weathermen. Such contact between an informant and a prosecutor is against Justice Department regulations, government sources said.

In testimony Friday before the Senate Watergate committee, James W. McCord Jr. said that he regularly received intelligence reports in early 1972 on anti-war and radical activities from the Internal Security Division and the FBI for possible political use. McCord was then serving as security chief for the Nixon re-election committee.

It could not be learned whether similar reports on radical activities in 1969 were supplied to officials in the Nixon administration for possible political use.

'Absolutely a Provocateur'
Robert Buringham, a former Weatherman who is now managing editor of Ramparts magazine in Berkeley, Calif., said: "Larry was absolutely a provocateur. I can remember one meeting in Cincinnati where there was a discussion going on about the question of armed political resistance and the various bombings that had occurred. Grant-

wohl took the initiative as was his wont and began castigating people for talking about the destruction of property; he said it wasn't enough to carry out these kinds of bombings. True revolutionaries," Mr. Buringham quoted Mr. Grantwohl as saying, "had to be ready and anxious to kill people."

Mr. Grantwohl was said to be widely known among the Weathermen for his skill in making bombs and fuses, as well as for his carrying a revolver and a straight razor. The sources said that Mr. Grantwohl, 25, received training in demolition and munitions while spending four years as an enlisted man in the Army in the mid-1960s.

Mr. Grantwohl and a number of his relatives and associates have confirmed his role as an undercover agent. The young man, whose role became known to the radicals after he set up the arrest of two of his underground associates in 1970 in New York City, has spent much of the last few years testifying against former Weathermen in grand jury sessions.

Until yesterday, federal officials repeatedly had denied that they had been able to infiltrate the Weathermen and Mr. Grantwohl has not been described as a double-agent during any of his court appearances.

The Weathermen was a group, perhaps numbering no more than a few hundred, of revolutionaries who split off from the Students for a Democratic Society in the late 1960s with the avowed aim of leading a revolutionary youth movement.

By early 1970, those Weathermen who had not been arrested or become disenchanted were forced to go underground to escape federal prosecution. Since then, according to Mr. Grantwohl, the young radicals have set up an elaborate communications system—using such code names as Thurn, Rose, Eagle and Lox—to talk to each other. Many apparently fled the country and are still being sought by federal authorities.

The precise details about Mr.

Grantwohl's initial involvement with the Weathermen could not be learned, but his father-in-law, Donald Riestenberg of Cincinnati, said that his son-in-law "got involved in this stuff" while enrolled at the University of Cincinnati.

"He started listening to some kids over there—listening, listening," Mr. Riestenberg, who has worked as a bond salesman, said. "I told him I thought they were Communists and said we ought to talk about it, and I introduced him to a couple of police sergeants."

A few weeks later, he said, his son-in-law was passed on to the local FBI office for more sophisticated handling.

Charged With Conspiracy
In June 1970, Mr. Grantwohl and 14 others—including Mr. Buringham, now of Ramparts magazine—were charged in Detroit with conspiring to bomb police and military installations in Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee and Los Angeles.

Most of the government's information about these conspiracies, the sources said, was supplied by Mr. Grantwohl during secret appearances before the Detroit grand jury. The government later dropped its charges against Mr. Grantwohl.

Mr. Grantwohl, who now lives with his wife and child in the San Francisco area under FBI protection, is said to have authorized last year a publishing company in Columbus, Ohio, to prepare a book about his experiences as an informant. The book is tentatively entitled: "The Bombers: I Was a Weatherman for the FBI."

No photographs of Mr. Grantwohl were available—he is convinced, friends said, that he is in mortal danger from his former underground associates—but he has been described as being more than 6 feet tall, well-built and handsome.

Since last fall, sources said, Mr. Grantwohl apparently still on the FBI payroll—has been aiding federal prosecutors in connection with a San Francisco grand jury investigation into what Justice Department sources called the "Weathermen underground"—those persons who have provided funds or other material benefits to the radical group in the last few years.

12 in U.S. Die As Chartered Vessel Sinks

Four Are Missing in Party of Fishermen

NARRAGANSETT, R.I., May 20 (AP)—At least 12 persons were killed yesterday when a ferry that had been converted into a charter party boat sank seven miles south of Point Judith, the Coast Guard said.

Eleven others survived, officials said, and four persons were unaccounted for.

The cause of the sinking was not immediately determined, but the Coast Guard quoted one survivor as saying the boat "broke up" about 45 minutes after leaving Point Judith.

The 50-foot Comet, originally from Portland, Maine, was carrying passengers from North Kingstown and Point Judith for a day of fishing at Block Island, the Coast Guard said.

Skipper a Victim
The owner-skipper was identified as William Jackson of Cumberland, R.I. Police said Mr. Jackson was among the dead. All the dead were from Rhode Island.

Most of the victims were friends or relatives of one another. The survivors and the dead apparently were in the water four to six hours before being picked up.

Police said survivors gave conflicting stories of the cause of the disaster. "Some say it was failure of the engine," an officer said, and others "too many people on one side."

George Albrecht, a South County Hospital official, said various accounts from survivors indicated the boat capsized.

"Apparently there were too many people on one side and the boat started to list and take on water. The captain told people to move away from that side, and everyone ran to the other side, causing the boat to capsize. It apparently began sinking stern first."

Navy frogmen planned a search of the hull for any trapped victims. The vessel's bow was said to be just slightly above the water.

McCarthy Group Cites Watergate Figures in Suit
SAN FRANCISCO, May 20.—A \$220,000 lawsuit alleging theft and forgery of election campaign material has been filed against Watergate figures Donald Segretti, Herbert Kalmbach, Maurice H. Stans and John N. Mitchell by two members of the 1972 California committee for former Sen. Eugene McCarthy.

The suit claimed that printed stationery and about 1,000 envelopes were taken from McCarthy headquarters in Los Angeles shortly before the California primary election last June and that forged letters were then sent to some McCarthy supporters.

The alleged forged letter asked potential Democratic convention delegates to pledge to Sen. McCarthy to "unofficially support" Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey over Sen. George McGovern in the California primary election.

But one of the two staff members who brought the action, Jonathan J. Wilcox, 28, an attorney, refused to say what evidence, if any, he had against the four former Nixon aides and the Committee to Re-Elect the President, which also was named in the complaint.

"I think it is quite inappropriate to talk about it," Mr. Wilcox said. "To go into matters of evidence is to go into the province of the court."

© Los Angeles Times.

France Rejects Cleaver Bid To Receive Political Asylum

PARIS, May 20 (Reuters).—France has decided not to give political asylum to American black militant Edridge Cleaver, the Interior Ministry said yesterday.

France turned down a request made by the former Black Panther information minister on April 4, after he disappeared from his exile home in Algeria.

The French position was spelled out by Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin in the National Assembly in answer to a written question by Socialist party leader François Mitterrand.

They referred only to a "Mr. X" and the "American national referred to," but the Interior Ministry confirmed that it was Mr. Cleaver.

Mr. Marcellin said in his written answer that it did not seem that the "person concerned runs any particular risk in his present country of residence [Algeria] because of his political conviction or ethnic origin."

"In the absence of these elements and taking account of the past activities of the party making the request, it has not been judged opportune to authorize him to come to France."

The appeal for asylum was addressed to Prime Minister Pierre Messmer. It asked that Mr. Cleaver be given asylum under a clause of the French constitution that says: "Any man persecuted for his political ideas... must be received in France."

Mr. Cleaver's lawyer said at the time, "He is persecuted for political reasons in the United States. He has always fought for the liberty of the blacks and against racism in the United States."

Mr. Cleaver, who has split with Black Panther leaders still in the United States, fled America in 1968. He went first to Cuba and then to Algeria after his parole was revoked following a gun battle which took place when police raided a Black Panther building in Oakland, Calif.

But he disappeared from his home in Algeria following disagreements with Algerian authorities.

Reports here have said that Mr. Cleaver has been in hiding in France for at least the last three weeks and that the U.S. Embassy put pressure on the French government to turn down Mr. Cleaver's request.

Neither point could be confirmed, however. The Interior Ministry said it did not know where Mr. Cleaver was and an embassy spokesman said the embassy, so far as he knew, had taken no action.

Harm to Animals Called Limited In U.S. A-Blast
GRAND JUNCTION, Colo., May 20 (AP).—The principal victims of a mile-deep nuclear blast in northwestern Colorado apparently were small animals that burrow underground.

It will be months before scientists know whether Thursday's explosions succeeded in their principal aim of freeing natural gas at an economical price.

But "significant changes" in some local wildlife habitats resulted from the nuclear detonation, a spokesman for the Atomic Energy Commission said last night. He said there was no evidence of injured livestock or deer but that some small animals that burrow underground were killed when earth tremors from the blast caused their burrows to cave in. Plants, birds, fish and other animals were probably killed in cave-ins or rockfalls, he said.

Another effect is that the flow of springs in the area has increased. The spokesman said this effect had been predicted and the flow would return to normal in "a short time." One new outlet was created near an existing spring, within a mile of the site.

Prison in Mass. Damaged in Riot

WALPOLE, Mass., May 20 (AP).—Riot-equipped state troopers secured Walpole State Prison yesterday after a night of rioting in which the facility was heavily damaged, state police said.

The police said that five inmates were wounded by plastic bullets fired by prison guards before the state troopers entered the maximum security prison. Authorities said that the revolt apparently was triggered by the announcement that there would be a shake-down search today for weapons and drugs.

Walpole, the state's only maximum security prison, has been in almost constant turmoil for the last 18 months. There have been 12 slayings, about 40 stabbings and more than \$3 million in damage to the institution in that time.

Arab Is Arrested In Milan Bombing
MILAN, May 20 (AP).—An Arab was jailed here yesterday in connection with the grenade blast outside the Milan police headquarters last week which killed one person and injured 40.

Earlier, Gianfranco Bertoli, a 40-year-old anarchist, was arrested and charged with throwing the hand grenade. The jailed Arab, identified only as Mohammed Mansour Saeed, 35, from Yemen, was arrested in a Venice hotel Friday night. Police refused to say whether any charges had been filed against him.

Meanwhile, police launched investigations in France, Switzerland, West Germany and Israel seeking foreign connections with Bertoli.

Bertoli has said he acted alone to avenge anarchist Giuseppe Pinelli, who died at the Milan police headquarters during questioning.

TRANSLATIONS
french, engl, germ, span, ital, port, dutch, arab, russ, swed, pol, rus, czech, arab, hung, rum, greek, arab, jap, chin, 44 p. N. 20, des-Victories Paris 20-21, 13-03
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7 percent of the 3 million voters went to the vote was 730,789 for the ban and 940,969 against. By cantons, the results were 2 for ending the curbs against.

Political Dispute in Managua Slows Recovery From Quake

By Marlene Simons

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, May 20 (UPI).—Every morning, poorly dressed men and boys enter the heart of Managua, the zone where 600 city blocks were crumbled by last December's earthquake, and begin sweeping dusty streets. They use their hands to pull wood and steel and often human remains from the rubble. The corpses and parts of bodies are set aside for burning but the wood and scrap metal are saved for reuse.

At day's end the workers return to their camp, stand in line for an hour for a plateful of rice and beans and finally slump to sleep on the ground—under the trees where they have hung their belongings. Their salary is \$28 a month.

This is Nicaragua's Civil Brigade, the government's official reconstruction force. Financed by a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development, the brigade was formed to provide work for 5,000 but, on average, only 1,900 workers show up on any day. Many have dropped out to earn more in construction work; others leave after not getting work clothes and housing—as promised them, and as provided for in the AID grant.

Almost five months have passed since the earthquake left 10,000 persons dead, 20,000 injured and 350,000 homeless. The damage is now estimated at \$1 billion. The replacement cost at \$1.5 billion.

The slow manual labor of the Civil Brigade has made minimal impact on the miles of rubble downtown, the area which took the earthquake's greatest shocks—directly above nine geological faults.

There have long been reports that heavy equipment would come in to clear the zone effectively, but none has been since the U.S. Army engineers withdrew their bulldozers.

Despite continuing earth tremors, at least two-thirds of the original 460,000 inhabitants are said to have returned to the capital. The well-to-do are staying near the big-industry sites in the suburbs, where homes suffered only cracks and superficial damage, but the poor and the small businessmen, whose lives were centered on the inner city, are building shacks wherever they can.

Inevitably, speculation is driving up land prices in the suburbs. According to a local architect, much of this land has been bought by government officials and members of the family of President Anastasio Somoza, who have access to government plans for urban projects.

The government has joined a program to build a mall of 400 shops on the edge of town, but has halted some of the building plans drawn up by impatient small businessmen.

So far, the most generous assistance to Nicaragua's giant task of reconstruction has come from U.S. AID funds: Long-term loans of \$20.4 million and a gift of \$8.7 million have been made available for continuing food distribution, housing for the homeless, rubble removal and rebuilding efforts.

But the rebuilding of Managua on the same site, as announced by President Somoza, is still a subject of controversy. Many say that its nine geological faults are too great a risk to live with.

What worries many others is the thought that a new capital will be built to accommodate the same political system. A leading opponent of the Somoza family said: "We should be thinking of also building a new society, free from the nepotism, corruption, repression and the injustice of the past."

But Mr. Somoza, whose family has been in power since 1936 and whose economic empire emerged virtually unscathed from the earthquake, apparently sees no reason for political change and shows no sign of wanting to share his control over the country.



Jeanette Rankin

Diennonné Costes

Obituaries:

Ex-Rep. Jeanette Rankin, 92, First Woman in U.S. Congress

NEW YORK, May 20 (NYT).—Jeanette Rankin, 92, the first woman to serve in the U.S. Congress and the only representative who voted against the nation's entry into World Wars I and II, died Friday night at her apartment in Carmel, Calif.

Miss Rankin, a lifelong pacifist and one of the country's earliest women's suffragists, served only two terms in the House of Representatives, 1917 to 1919 and 1941 to 1943. But in both these terms, by an odd turn of history, the United States decided to go to war.

Her dissenting votes were consistent with her lifelong belief that violence cannot solve human disagreements.

Miss Rankin also introduced the first bill to grant women citizenship independent of their husbands, and authorized the first bill for government-sponsored instruction of hygiene in maternity and infancy.

A Republican from Missoula, Mont., she ran her campaigns as a peace platform. After leaving the Congress, she devoted her widely admired energy to peace organizations and women's activist groups.

Until her health began failing seriously last year, Miss Rankin's only concession to age was a cane and a slight weariness at seeing the ideas she had been advocating for seven decades treated as if they were still radically new.

Diennonné Costes
PARIS, May 20 (Reuters).—French aviation pioneer Diennonné Costes, 80, who made the first Westward Transatlantic Flight from Paris to New York, died Friday at his Paris home, his family said yesterday.

Col. Costes' arrival, along with his mechanic Maurice Bellonte, at Curtiss Field in Valley Stream, L.I., aboard their plane, the "Question Mark" on Sept. 2, 1930, was followed by a tumultuous welcome in the United States.

A highly decorated fighter pilot of World War I, Col. Costes later became a test pilot for the Breguet aircraft manufacturers.

He set a number of long-distance flying records in the late 1920s, flying with Mr. Bellonte to Africa and the Far East. But his role during the German occupation of France led to his arrest after the war on charges of collaboration and he spent 30 months in prison before being acquitted by a Paris court in 1949 after a long and controversial trial.

Dr. Alfred Fleisch
MAMMERN, Switzerland, May 20 (Reuters).—Dr. Alfred Fleisch, 80, a Swiss specialist known for his work on blood circulation, respiration and nutrition, died here yesterday.

George P. Breakston
PARIS, May 20 (NYT).—George P. Breakston, 53, American actor, screenwriter, director and producer died here yesterday.

Mr. Breakston was born in Paris and grew up in the United States. He started in show business as a child star on Radio in New York in 1920. Later, in Hollywood, he appeared with Mickey Rooney in the Andy Hardy series.

During World War II, he was a photographic officer in the Signal Corps serving in the Pacific Theaters. After the war, he produced, directed or wrote more than 30 films in Japan, Africa and Europe.

He is survived by his wife, Emma of Paris and his mother, Jeanette Rankin.

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Saigon Rebuff Halts Probe Of U.S. Raids

Refuses to Transport Reds to Alleged Site

From Wire Dispatches

SAIGON, May 20.—The start of an investigation into alleged U.S. air attacks in South Vietnam was called off yesterday because the Saigon government refused to provide transportation and a safety guarantee for a Viet Cong liaison team.

Saigon officials said they would have provided the transportation if the Viet Cong had agreed to deploy a team at Bien Hoa, but that Saigon would not haul the Viet Cong to and from field investigations that should be handled from regional sites.

The Viet Cong team was to have joined the peacekeeping team at Bien Hoa, a regional command site 15 miles northwest of Saigon. From Bien Hoa, the team and the Viet Cong had been scheduled to proceed to Loc Ninh, the Communist headquarters 75 miles north of Saigon, where U.S. air attacks were alleged to have been carried out.

The Communists, meanwhile, boycotted yesterday's meeting of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission, which was called to arrange for the return of American dead. They charged that there had been new U.S. air strikes this week in violation of the cease-fire and they implied that the remains of scores of Americans who died in air crashes may not be returned.

The United States again denied that it has bombed in South Vietnam since the cease-fire went into effect Jan. 23.

South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu, meanwhile, outlined a seven-year plan today for national development which, he said, would be carried out even though the Communists were preparing a new war.

In a radio broadcast, Mr. Thieu said that South Vietnam intended to maintain a strong military force because that, and not the Paris peace agreement, was the only guarantee for national security. He said that the seven-year plan would be carried out in three phases. It is aimed at making the South Vietnamese economy self-sufficient by 1980.

The first priority was to solve the problem of the war's one million refugees by the end of next year, he said. In the second phase, from 1976 to 1978, efforts would be made to attract foreign investment and encourage domestic investment, while cutting back on government expenditure.

The final phase, from 1977 to 1980, would be devoted to consolidating and developing national industries, which would make South Vietnam no longer dependent on foreign aid.

In Phnom Penh, authorities said that a Cambodian domestic airline DC-3 with 11 persons aboard, which crashed yesterday in the Parrot's Beak region of southeastern Cambodia, had been shot down.

U.S. F-4 Phantom jets, meanwhile, flew raids on Cambodian rebel positions today in support of an encircled government garrison, military sources said.

Lebanon Premier
Withdraws His
May 8 Resignation

BEIRUT, May 20 (UPI).—Premier Amin Hafez, who submitted his cabinet's resignation on May 8 at the height of clashes between the Lebanese Army and the Palestinian guerrillas, said yesterday he has withdrawn his resignation at President Suleiman Franjeh's request.

Mr. Hafez made the announcement after two lengthy talks with Mr. Franjeh. "I was summoned by the president tonight and told that he rejects my resignation and wants me to resume my post," Mr. Hafez said yesterday.

Mr. Hafez said he will work to consolidate Lebanon's security and stability and improve relations with neighboring Syria. Beirut radio said the cabinet will meet Wednesday under Mr. Franjeh's chairmanship.

13 Hours of Top Talks
Rather, the experts were believed to have committed to paper their exchange of views which emerged from the first 13 hours of Kissinger-Thieu meetings held Thursday, Friday and yesterday.

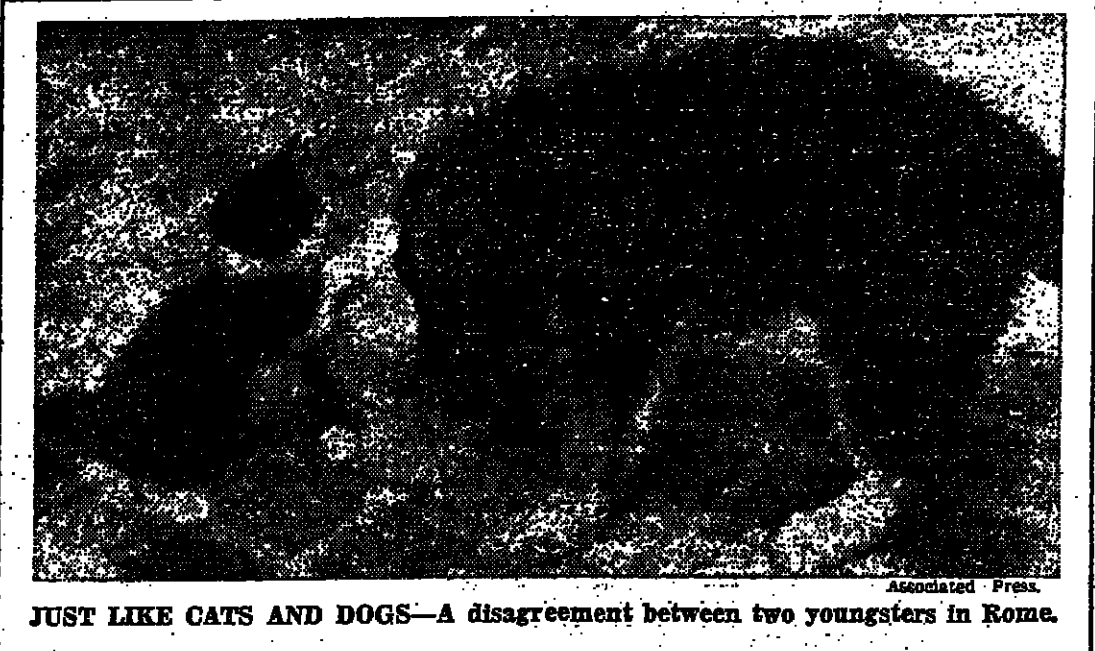
Although both sides were said to have presented their positions on the Cambodian war and political problems, the sources said that most of the discussions had dealt with specific military problems in South Vietnam itself.

Among the issues under discussion were said to be:
• How to stop the shooting in South Vietnam.
• Ways and means of getting both the Saigon government and the Viet Cong's Provisional Revolutionary Government to agree on the extent limits of zones under their control—and enclaves within them.
• Measures to improve the work of the joint Saigon-Viet

Egypt Forces
Belgian Jet Down
BRUSSELS, May 20 (Reuters).—Egyptian authorities have forced a Belgian Boeing-707, with 45 passengers and eight crewmen aboard to land at Cairo Airport, Sabena airline said tonight.

The Middle East News Agency reported from Cairo that the jet was ordered to land after officials said it had entered Egyptian airspace without permission. But a Sabena spokesman said the airline had not been told why the plane—on a scheduled flight from Brussels to Dar-es-Salaam—had been ordered down.

Zanzibar to Execute 9
ZANZIBAR, May 20 (Reuters).—A Zanzibar court yesterday sentenced to death nine persons who had pleaded guilty to charges of treason in connection with the assassination last year of the island's ruler, Sheikh Abeid Karume. A further 72 persons who have pleaded not guilty to the treason charges are to go on trial June 5.



JUST LIKE CATS AND DOGS—A disagreement between two youngsters in Rome.

2 Major Lacks: Transport, Objectivity The Frustrations of Policing the Truce

By Fox Butterfield

VINH LONG, South Vietnam, May 20 (NYT).—When the urgent message came, the Hungarians were fishing the Indonesians were playing badminton with a Vietnamese secretary in hot pants and gold high-heeled shoes, and the Poles were watching.

There had been another Communist attack on a government outpost and there had been more than 20 casualties, the local South Vietnamese commander asserted. He wanted the team from the International Commission of Control and Supervision to investigate.

"We can't get there so there's nothing we can do about it," said Maj. Robert Stewart, chief of the two-man Canadian team in Vinh Long, as he sat at the bar on the roof of the commission's villa.

Like the 26 other local teams and seven regional teams posted around South Vietnam, the group here at Vinh Long, 60 miles south of Saigon in the center of the Mekong Delta, has been hamstrung by the commission's own restrictions on transportation.

Helicopters can no longer be used for investigation, since the Communists shot down two commission helicopters early last month in northern Quang Tri Province, the commission has grounded the flights. Boats are essential in the swampy and often roadless delta, particularly now during the rainy season—are unavailable because the Poles and Hungarians say they have not been approved as official vehicles.

Artillery Firing Heard
As Maj. Stewart put down the message and ordered a beer, government artillery sounded in the distance, supporting the besieged outpost, and a flight of South Vietnamese Air Force F-5 fighters streaked overhead. Although the artillery and air strikes were violations of the cease-fire, nei-

ther the fishermen nor the badminton players looked up.

Despite the limitations on its mobility, the Vinh Long team has actually been one of the busiest in the country. There has been more fighting in the area this spring than there was last year during the big Communist offensive, local officials say, with an average of 72 incidents a month since the cease-fire agreement was signed in January.

Even when the team—two officers from each of the four delegations, plus Polish and Hungarian interpreters—can get to the site of a reported violation, they seldom agree on what they see.

The week before last, for instance, the team was asked by the local South Vietnamese representative of the Joint Military Commission to examine a new 300-foot-long concrete bridge that had been demolished by explosives during the night.

The Canadians and Indonesians concluded that the incident was clearly the work of a highly trained Communist saboteur unit.

According to other team members, the Poles, team leader, a career officer of the spit-and-polish school, was outraged by the sloppy way in which the South Vietnamese had guarded the bridge. "He practically screamed at the guards for sleeping on duty," an amused officer recalled. But the Poles did not file a report on responsibility for the explosion.

The Hungarians found that "due to the lack of evidence, it can be concluded that the bridge was in need of repair and it was blown up by a Soviet agent." South Vietnamese authorities instead of taking it down.

Such findings, which the Canadians describe as ridiculous, have helped create tensions among team members.

Makes You Boil
"When you go out in the field and find nine civilian bodies mangled by mortar shells, and then the Poles say it was all caused by a Soviet agent, it just makes you boil," remarked an officer who has been on several teams in the delta.

The Vinh Long team, like its regional headquarters in Can Tho, has filed several unanimous reports accusing the South Vietnamese of cease-fire violations, usually for firing artillery. But so far the team has not been able to complete a unanimous report finding against the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Viet Cong.

The officers' view of their effectiveness as peace-keeping body varies from country to country and individual to individual. Lt. Col. Josef Komlos, the Hungarian leader in Can Tho, insisted in a recent interview that the commission had been "effective in preserving the Paris agreement."

Col. Komlos, a ruggedly built man with a broad, ruddy face, believed that the Americans and the South Vietnamese are to blame for all the violations in his region.

"We have not found any evidence of PRG violations," he said with assurance, explaining that all the evidence of Communist violations produced by the South Vietnamese appeared to have been fabricated.

Maj. Stewart, the Canadian representative, said he did not think the commission had really been able to stop the fighting. "But the Vietnamese people still seem to believe that we have a kind of black magic in our flags, that we can do something," he continued. "They always come running out to us wherever we go."

Rhodesia Reports
Zambian Firing,
Draws a Denial
SALISBURY, Rhodesia, May 20 (UPI).—Three shots were fired from the Zambian side of the Victoria Falls yesterday where two Canadian girls were killed and an American was wounded Tuesday, Rhodesian police said.

The shots were fired down the second gorge at the falls, possibly at the bridge link to Rhodesia, the spokesman said.

[Zambia today dismissed the Rhodesian report as a "despicable lie." AP reported. A government spokesman said that no shots "at all were fired at anybody by Zambian security forces."

A Rhodesian government spokesman said yesterday Zambia's explanation for Tuesday's shooting was unacceptable. "The Zambian government is endeavoring to cover up this crime by trying to justify the barbarity of the act perpetrated by their ill-disciplined soldiers," the spokesman said.

Zambia said an army officer guarding a power station on the Zambezi River fired on four persons he saw swimming in the river "on a mission to attack the power station."

Cholera Kills 73 on Bali
DIJAKARTA, May 20 (AP).—Seventy-three persons have died of cholera since January in three areas on the island of Bali—Gianyar, Badung and Buleleng—the Health Department announced.

Lon Nol Goes
To Seaside for
10 Days' Rest
PHNOM PENH, May 20 (AP).—Cambodia's ailing President Lon Nol went to the port and seaside resort of Kompong Som today for 10 days' rest.

An official said that soon after his return to Phnom Penh, Marshal Lon Nol would leave for medical treatment in the United States.

The 59-year-old president suffered a stroke in February, 1971, that left his left side partly paralyzed. Sources said his condition has deteriorated in the last several months.

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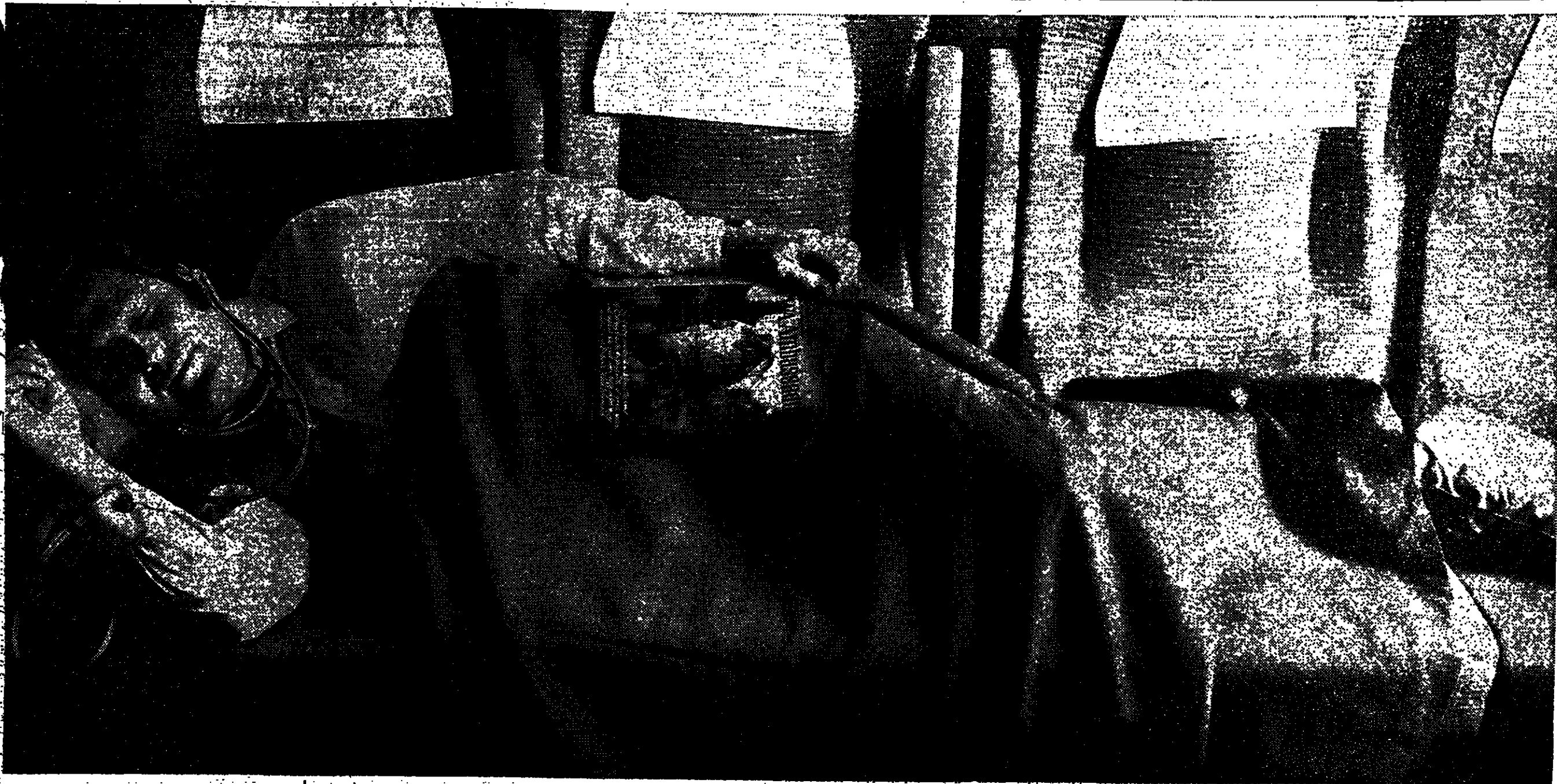
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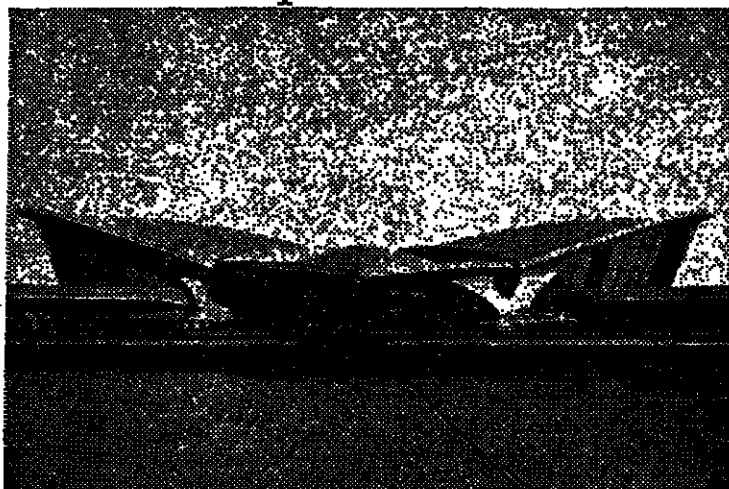
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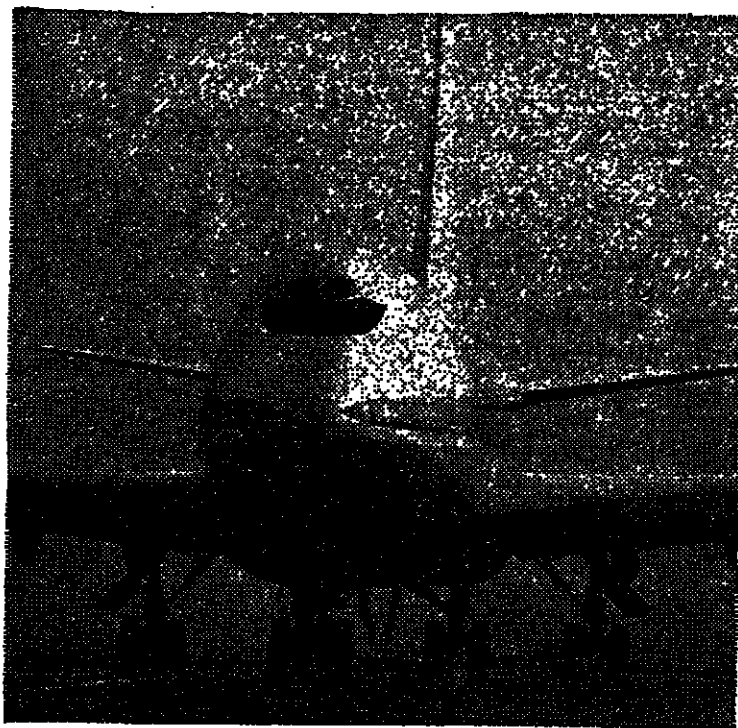
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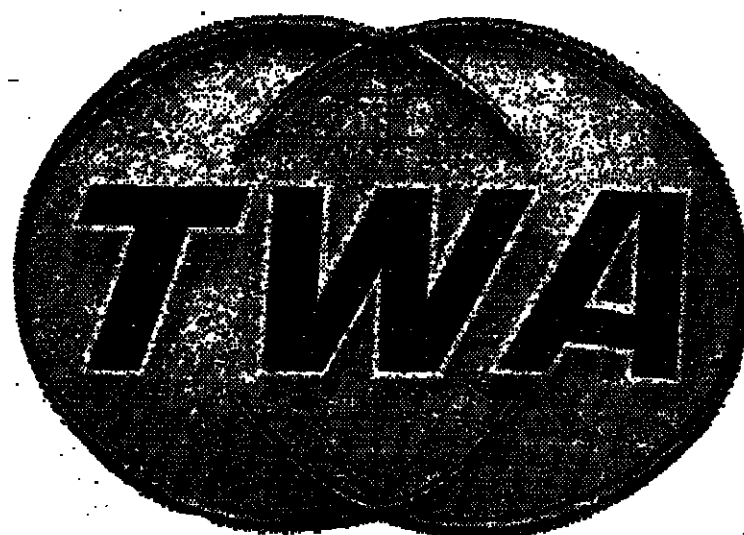


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Archibald Cox of Harvard

Confident Prober In Bugging Inquiry

WASHINGTON (NYT).—Whether in a morning suit with tall, arguing a case before Supreme Court justices or lecturing a law class at Harvard in a three-piece suit, his six-foot, somewhat gaunt frame has always been taut. "He's ramrod straight," a former colleague says. Archibald Cox is a "ramrod" in more than appearance. He carried the traits to his personality. "He's friendly, but not warm," as his judgment "when he makes up his mind, he's rigid," said one colleague of Mr. Cox, who was named Friday as the special prosecutor in the Watergate case.

One former assistant attorney general recalled Mr. Cox's stubbornness as solicitor general, the 3d-ranking official in the Justice Department, with responsibility for arguing the government's cases before the Supreme Court. "We had one case, Preston vs. the United States, involving the right of government officials to search automobiles brought to police headquarters. Archie felt there was no justification for the government's position, he refused to make the arguments before the court and we lost the case," he recalled.

But while Mr. Cox was solicitor general, during the Kennedy administration, he also gained a reputation as the "Willie Mays of Supreme Court lawyers."

His confidence—some call it arrogance—led Mr. Cox to lecture the Supreme Court justices.

"The first year he was solicitor general, in 1961," a former Justice Department official recalled, "I saw him lecture the court like they were nine law students. He was explaining the law in a labor case—he's an expert on labor law—and there wasn't a peep out of the justices. He won the case, as I recall, 9 to 0."

Mr. Cox, who still favors a short crewcut, although he was 61 years old Thursday and his hair is gray, is now Winston professor of law at Harvard, a chair he has held since 1965 when he resigned as solicitor general.

He has not had a placid career as a professor. From 1969 to 1971, he played a major role in negotiating with the student dissidents—war demonstrators, protesters of the killings at Kent State and women liberationists.

"He can take a lot of pressure and keep going on course," said Daniel Steiner, the general counsel at Harvard and a former student of Mr. Cox. "He's unfappable."

His talent and patience were also tested in 1968, when he was named chairman of the five-man committee inquiring into the cause of the disturbances at Columbia University.

Mr. Cox was born in Plainfield, N. J., the son of a patent lawyer. But his ties are to New England. He prepared for college at St. Paul's School in Concord, N. H., studied history and economics at Harvard College and received his law degree, magna cum laude, from Harvard Law School.

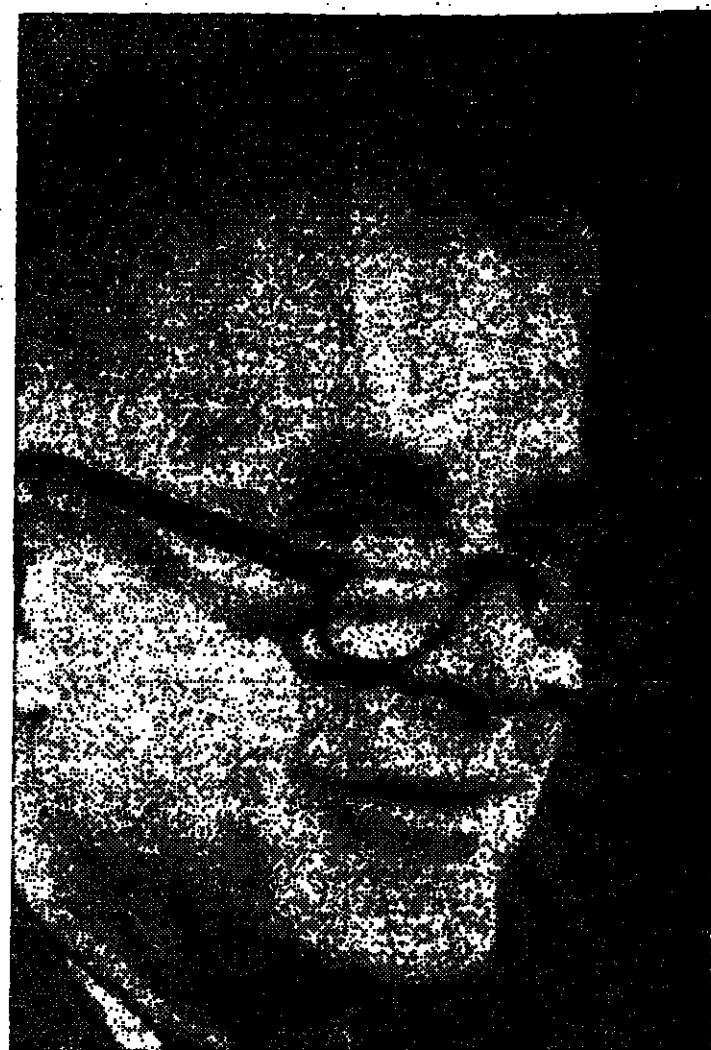
After graduating in 1937, he became a law clerk for the famous Judge Learned Hand of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York. A year later, he became an associate in a Boston law firm and in 1941 came to Washington. He was on the staff of the National Defense Mediation Board, then appointed to the office of solicitor general and, in 1943, he became an associate solicitor in the Department of Labor.

When he was 34, only a year after he returned to Harvard, he became one of the youngest men to hold a professorship there. For the next 15 years he taught at Harvard, where one of his students in 1946 was Elliot L. Richardson, the man who selected him as the special prosecutor.

In 1952, Mr. Cox headed the Wage Stabilization Board, but he resigned four months later when President Truman overruled the board's decision to lower to \$1.50 a day the \$1.90-a-day raise that John L. Lewis had negotiated for the United Mine Workers.

His expertise in labor law first brought Mr. Cox to the attention of John F. Kennedy. For several years, he was a labor arbitrator and proposed many revisions of the Taft Hartley Act. By 1958, he was one of Kennedy's closest labor advisers and the relationship carried over into the 1960 presidential campaign, in which he was considered a key member of the Kennedy brain trust. The President rewarded him with the position of solicitor general.

Mr. Cox now lives on a farm in Wayland, Mass., with his wife, Phyllis, and spends much of his leisure time growing corn and cucumbers. The couple, who have three children, also have a farm in Maine where they spend some time. He reads mystery thrillers, goes horseback riding with his wife and takes an occasional drink of bourbon.



TASK AHEAD—Archibald Cox meeting newsmen Friday after being named as Watergate prober.

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In 1952, Mr. Cox headed the Wage Stabilization Board, but he

resigned four months later when President Truman overruled the board's decision to lower to \$1.50 a day the \$1.90-a-day raise that John L. Lewis had negotiated for the United Mine Workers.

His expertise in labor law first brought Mr. Cox to the attention of John F. Kennedy. For several years, he was a labor arbitrator and proposed many revisions of the Taft Hartley Act. By 1958, he was one of Kennedy's closest labor advisers and the relationship carried over into the 1960 presidential campaign, in which he was considered a key member of the Kennedy brain trust. The President rewarded him with the position of solicitor general.

Mr. Cox now lives on a farm in Wayland, Mass., with his wife, Phyllis, and spends much of his leisure time growing corn and cucumbers. The couple, who have three children, also have a farm in Maine where they spend some time. He reads mystery thrillers, goes horseback riding with his wife and takes an occasional drink of bourbon.

The Watergate Case as Seen Abroad

By Bernard Gwertzman

WASHINGTON (NYT).—Although the Watergate scandal has raised doubts among some officials about President Nixon's ability to conduct a vigorous foreign policy, overseas criticism of the administration has been light and American foreign relations so far do not appear to have suffered any significant damage.

A detailed survey by correspondents of The New York Times also indicates that despite the heavy overseas news coverage of Watergate, there has been no rise in anti-Americanism.

In fact, the contrary seems to be the case. Time after time, officials and newsmen have expressed admiration for the American system of checks and balances and for the doggedness of a free press in bringing the affair to light.

In some countries with a long tradition of corruption in high places, there were expressions of surprise that Americans could get so excited about Watergate.

These other points were made by the survey:

● Two forms of allied concern have been voiced privately. European allies, for instance, have expressed apprehension that when Mr. Nixon meets with the Soviet Communist party leader, Leonid I. Brezhnev next month, he may be so eager for agreements to offset the bad publicity that he may "give away" too much. Saigon officials, worried that Mr. Nixon may be weakened politically, have voiced fear of a cut-off in American support if the Democratic party leader, Lyndon B. Johnson, is elected.

● The Soviet Union and China, which in the past would have seized on Watergate as "proof" of the decline of capitalism, have said nearly nothing about Watergate, in line with their improved relations with Washington. Some fairly bland articles have appeared in the East European press.

● At Mr. Nixon's command, the American foreign policy machinery has been operating at full capacity, despite—or as skeptics say, because of—Watergate. In addition to Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Nixon will be meeting soon with President Pompidou of France and still plans to visit Europe and Latin America this year. Although Congress is reeling from the bombing of Cambodia, Henry A. Kissinger went to Paris for new talks with Le Duc Tho, Hanoi's chief negotiator, on cease-fire talks. The survey indicated no impairment of American Embassy operations because of Watergate.

● Although Mr. Nixon is not a popular figure abroad, his foreign policy achievements have been widely admired. This has led to expressions of concern, in places such as Israel, over what the future might bring if he were forced to leave office.

In many parts of the world, the Watergate affair has been a major source of café conversation. Nowhere is this the case more than in South Vietnam. There, despite government apprehension about the impact of the scandal on American aid, the press has been having a field day noting that the United States is no less corrupt than Vietnam.

Vietnamese seem to love intrigue, mystery and complex and surreptitious organizations. They feel there is something about the Vietnamese about the way Watergate has unfolded.

A country-by-country breakdown of the survey follows:

Argentina

Largely because of the attention focused on the recent election victory of the Peronists and the friction among the Peronists, the military and the urban guerrillas, Watergate has been virtually ignored in the press and in official circles. Even militants with a passionate interest in politics show no interest in it.

Britain

The Watergate case is viewed with extreme seriousness at the highest levels. Prime Minister Edward Heath and his aides like Mr. Nixon and want to see him remain in office. They would like to see him emerge less tainted than he now appears to them.

Officials fear that as a result of Watergate, Mr. Nixon's relations with Congress will deteriorate and that the President will not get the trade bill that would allow him to have the way Europe wants him to have in the negotiations later this year.

Moreover, there is some private concern that Watergate has weakened Mr. Nixon's bargaining position with the Russians.

So far, British and American officials are agreed that American foreign policy has not been damaged. The press covers the spectrum of opinion and British interest seems to be growing. But it does not seem to grasp the complexities.

Canada

There has been no official reaction to Watergate, but press coverage is nearly as extensive as in the United States and dominates the news. It is overwhelmingly an expression of shock and dismay, a favorite re-

action of Canadians to shortcomings of their big, powerful neighbor.

Since Mr. Nixon has never been popular in Canada, Canadians tend to find him, rather than the presidency, or the American system, vulnerable.

China

Although the Chinese press has not covered a word about Watergate, there have been summaries of foreign press reports in the special limited-circulation bulletin supplied to officials throughout China.

Recent visitors from Peking said that Chinese officials are interested but not markedly shocked by Watergate revelations. They were said to take the view that it was the explicable development, given the basic weakness of the capitalist system.

France

Although France objects strongly to many of Mr. Nixon's foreign policy proposals, particularly those dealing with the "new Atlantic charter," French officials seem to regard the Watergate affair and wish it would go away and leave Mr. Nixon to be argued with and criticized in terms of foreign policy.

So far, France has had no impact on French-American day-to-day relations, with plans proceeding for Mr. Pompidou's meeting with Mr. Nixon. This does not mean that the subject will be ignored in their discussions but rather that it will have a subtle influence on the climate.

Press reaction is heavy, but divided. Some publications refer to Watergate as a passing episode, while opposition papers, seeing similarities with the French government, draw moral lessons from the secrecy and corruption.

West Germany

Chancellor Willy Brandt was in Washington when Mr. Nixon made his speech accepting responsibility for Watergate and Mr. Brandt has told intimates that he was "shaken up by it."

The Germans believe—but Americans deny—that Mr. Brandt won concessions to the final communiqué because of Watergate.

Through 25 Years of War and Defeat

Palestinians Sustained by Dreams of 'Home'

By Juan de Onis

BEIRUT (NYT).—Twenty-five years after the creation of the state of Israel, the uprooted Palestinian Arabs not only are at war with Israel but are in conflict with Arab governments and among themselves.

The violent fighting between Palestinian guerrillas and the Lebanese Army in the last two weeks was a cease-fire was consolidated a week ago; it is the latest of the troubles that have overtaken Palestinians seeking an Arab base from which to attack Israel.

Many of those who fought here are veterans of the war between the Palestinian guerrillas—the Fedayeen, or those who sacrifice themselves—and the army of King Hussein of Jordan. The guerrillas were expelled from Jordan during battles in 1970 and 1971. The loss of the bases in Jordan, the Arab country with the longest border with Israel, is recognized by the guerrilla leadership as a severe setback to the aspirations of the Palestinians, who are believed to number three million. They are determined to prevent a repetition in Lebanon.

Known Only Defeat

In Israel, the Palestinians have known only defeat. In May, 1948, when the British mandate in Palestine ended, the Arabs and the Jews fought a war. The Arabs lost and 700,000 Palestinians fled or were driven out of what is today Israel.

In the six-day war in 1967, when Israel occupied the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Golan Heights of Syria and the Gaza Strip, 300,000 more Palestinians became displaced persons and 400,000 were in territories that came under Israeli occupation.

In the last year, Israeli raids on Lebanon have destroyed guerrilla bases and killed top Palestinian leaders. Israeli jets have bombed camps and army installations in Syria in reprisal for guerrilla attacks.

As a result of such Israeli actions, Jordan has been forced to accept a large number of Palestinians as a base for Palestinian guerrillas. Syria has sharply curtailed guerrilla raids into Iraq, stationing suffering heavy damage from Israeli bombing in January. Now Lebanon is seeking stricter controls.

Grievances Passed On

Military setbacks and frustrations only deepen the grievances that most Palestinians feel not just toward Israel but toward host Arab governments, which

and this had led to concern that Mr. Nixon might have to make even more serious concessions to the Russians.

Press reaction in Germany is heavy and tends to the extreme. The German papers are saying, "Nixon must have known, and if he did, what will happen now, and he must somehow make a clean breast of it."

India

Mr. Nixon has never been popular in India and Watergate has not improved his image. But so far there has been no official comment and relations do not seem to have been affected.

However, the Indian press has seized upon the scandal to compare the way political corruption is exposed in America and kept hidden in India.

Israel

The Watergate affair has created a widespread shock in Israel. It has generated genuine concern among officials who have always believed that Israel's best friend in the United States has been the President, a feeling dating to 1948 when Harry S. Truman recognized Israel's independence despite State Department recommendations against it.

Because of this, and because of the close working relationship that has been established between Premier Golda Meir and Mr. Nixon, officials here see the Watergate affair as fraught with potential consequences for Israel. "Anything that threatens Nixon's prestige and influence threatens us," an Israeli official said. There is also fear that Mr. Nixon might make a deal with Mr. Brezhnev at Israel's expense.

There is considerable praise for the American press and for the judicial system.

Japan

The Japanese press has given heavy coverage to Watergate, but so far, the impact on the country has been limited. Although American prestige has diminished in Japan, the American press and American congressmen have won considerable respect and admiration.

Undoubtedly, if the scandal

continues, observers in Japan, some doubt may be cast on the Japanese government and the official circles about the "reliability" of the United States. But, so far, there has been no direct effect on relations.

Soviet Union

Because of its developing relationship with the United States, the Soviet leadership decided to suppress news of the Watergate affair—although a title did appear last week in a weekly publication.

The Russians are said to be that publicity may lead to tensions in the public mind of Moscow could want to become friendly with a corrupt government.

There have been questions public lectures, however, among foreign broadsheets about the affair. In one, a lecturer merely said that Nixon had to replace some officials tainted by an election scandal. End of explanation. Privately, Soviet officials concerned about the impact of Henry Kissinger's alleged trade concessions promised last year. Mr. Brezhnev, however, decided to come to Washington anyway.

South Vietnam

There has been widespread popular interest in Watergate. Saigon, reflected in large newspaper headlines day after day, talk in coffee shops where it is gathered and in government offices.

Some South Vietnamese are seized upon Watergate to anti-American feelings, not that Americans have long excused them for corruption. Some Vietnamese, particularly those educated in the United States, see Watergate as evidence of the basic strength of American political system. A young official said, for instance, that "America can rightly claim to be the champion of freedom and democracy."

The greatest impact may be on future aid to Saigon. South Vietnamese fear that Communists may seize Watergate as an opportunity for a new offensive.

Identification Persist

The identification of the 100,000 Palestinians kept alive in the camps by families, by the schools and guerrilla organizations, in many camps, the refugees from Palestinian villages have grouped together in their own sectors.

"The feeling of being a Palestinian is born with them, grows with them," said a camp official at the girls' grade school at a camp in Amman. A 9-year-old child can talk about Palestine as if she had lived there.

If children in the camps asked where they are from, a Palestinian teacher named Suleiman lives in a camp Tripoli, northern Lebanon, was attacked by Israeli commandos, who blew up gun bases and killed 30 persons, leaving to his nine children said: "At dawn after the attack, I took them out to see the damage. I said, 'I want to remember.'"

The bulk of the Palestinians see a long period of rule in Israel, with the occupied under increasing Israeli economic influence.

"If King Hussein could get Israel to give up the West Bank and to international Jerusalem, we would like to see it. But it is not going to happen," said a Palestinian teacher in Bethlehem.

Resentment Unchange

The resentments of the Palestinians do not appear to have changed by the opportunity they have had since 1967 to visit or work in Israel, a cross from Jordan to visit families in occupied areas.

Even the Israeli press "shalom," grates on Palestinian ears.

"They say shalom to peace," said a man in Bethlehem who works in a Palestinian textile factory and who is without compensation. "I kick you out and take that you have and say shalom. Then they give me back my land and then I will shalom."

Other airlines fly as fast as we do. And their aircraft have the same range as ours. How can we then offer faster services and fewer stops between Europe and S.E. Asia, Japan, Australia, N. America, West. And between S.E. Asia and N. America, East.

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In other cases, Copenhagen will at least be closer to the stretched string than any other major airport in Europe (like Bangkok-New York, which makes the string run as far north as Spitsbergen).

So it's as simple as that: it's shorter via Copenhagen. And flying via Copenhagen is like running the inner track: a way to save distance and time.

And Copenhagen is the only major airport in Europe, from which nonstop flights to Bangkok, Los Angeles, Tokyo and Seattle are all within the reach of long-distance aircraft.

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Armand Hammer of Occidental

Capitalist Who Knows His Way Around Kremlin

Armand Hammer, 75-year-old Occidental Petroleum Soviet Union has been a paradise for a half century in profits for a man with the right connections in the Kremlin.

Hammer, who followed these days of American business, to cash in on the agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union's headquarters, he rules as chairman, president, and sole shareholder, no one would know Mr. Hammer. To his 31,000 employees, Dr. Hammer, even only medicine he ever was to remove an aortic aneurysm, arriving in Moscow, ministering to the Russian dying of cholera in the Ural, old youth from New York of the Bronx, attention of no less an American, at Lenin's, have up doctoring and a hand in digging money out of the the Bolshevik Revolution.



Robert Pryor

Hardly a Ripple

As a result, the latest Occidental-Soviet announcement caused hardly a ripple on the stock exchanges, where Oxy rose barely a point, then promptly fell back to 11 1/2, and later to 10 1/2, very near its 1972 low.

Mr. Hammer offers a curious amalgam of Yankee trader, circus barker, big-time entrepreneur and cultured devotee of the arts, a man whose modesty concerning his many philanthropies is in striking contrast to the bravura style of his business dealings.

He is convinced that he knows more about doing business with the Russians than any other American and is "something of a hero" in the Soviet Union. This, he feels, gives him an enormous advantage over such Johnny-come-latelies as General Motors, Electric, Alcoa, Mobil Oil, Exxon and the other American industrial giants descending upon Moscow these days.

He recently informed stockholders, in the company's annual report, that Occidental's "historic arrangements" with the Soviet Union were possible because of his ability to deal "directly and personally with the Soviet government's top leaders."

He negotiates with them in their own language, using what a Russian diplomat tactfully described as "fluent but not entirely flawless Russian" acquired during his sojourn there from 1921 to 1930.

One of three sons of a Jewish doctor, Julius Hammer, who left Czarist Russia in the 1890s because of his Socialist views, Mr. Hammer was born in the Bronx on May 21, 1898, and christened Armand after the hero of "Camille," which he says was his father's favorite opera. He good-naturedly denies that his name was taken from a box of Arm & Hammer baking soda.

Mr. Hammer has a son, Julius, by a former marriage. He had a million dollars, acquired while studying medicine at Columbia, when he and his brother Harry rejuvenated a small pharmaceutical firm established by their father. The story persists that the firm's biggest profits in those prohibition days came from supplying bonded medicinal whiskey to drug stores.

Mr. Hammer went to the Soviet Union while awaiting an internship at Bellevue Hospital, and a visit to the famine-ridden Urals quickly convinced him that what the Russian people needed most urgently was not medicine but food.

"I'll bring over ships filled with grain if you'll fill them with products I can sell in America," he told the Soviet leaders.

An initial 15,000-ton shipment of wheat to Sverdlovsk was followed by cargoes totaling nearly a million tons. Back to the United States in the same ships came furs, hides, lumber, caviar, semi-precious stones and almost priceless objects of art, including the detested Romanov double eagle.

Considering that American farmers were then burning wheat rather than sell it for a dollar a bushel, Mr. Hammer's profits were enormous.

Lenin was delighted with the ingenuity of the young American and in October, 1921, persuaded him to forget doctoring and take over a renewable asbestos mine in the mountains of Western Siberia, the first foreign concession to be granted by the Soviet government.

Mr. Hammer and his brothers Victor and Harry, after a disastrous start as anti-capitalist labor troubles, finally were reaping a profit of several hundred thousand dollars a year before they sold the mine back to the Russians in 1926.

While still operating the asbestos mine, Mr. Hammer began investing his profits, and small portions of his personal fortune, in paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens, Hals and Breugel that had been stripped from Romanov mansions and were scorned in the new Soviet state as symbols of imperialist decadence.

The paintings, together with jeweled tiaras, ancient icons and gem-encrusted Russian Easter eggs, formed the basis of the Hammer Galleries, which he and his brother opened on New York's Fifth Avenue, and the 127-year-old Knoedler Galleries over which Mr. Hammer later gained control.

In 1930, Stalin, now ruler of the Soviet Union, decided that with his five-year plan the Russians no longer need pay tribute to foreign industrial know-how. All Mr. Hammer's industrial and trading concessions were revoked. The Hammer Pencil Co. became and still remains the Sacco and Vanzetti pencil works.

Mr. Hammer was paid for the plants in gold-backed, three-year Russian notes, which were redeemed on schedule, and left with his profits and his hoard of art treasures.

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Mr. Hammer later admitted that the \$8-billion figure was somewhat exaggerated, but he insisted nevertheless that the deal was so big as to constitute "a breakthrough in Soviet-American relations that will set an example" for other American industries.

Mr. Hammer has indicated that the better deal, over a 20-year period beginning in 1978, would involve from \$3.5 billion to \$4 billion, on each side.

Occidental, he said, is still looking for sources of private financing for the deal.

There have been estimates that the fertilizer complex alone might cost anywhere from \$400 million to \$600 million. Occidental reported \$22 million in cash on hand at the end of 1972 plus unused credits of around \$175 million and \$263 million in working capital against debts of nearly a billion dollars.

The company's indebtedness last year put a stop to further payments of cash dividends to Oxy's 303,000 common stockholders, and caused a bail-out by holders of about a million shares.

Wall Street specialists and Occidental's competitors, many of whom regard Mr. Hammer as prone to careless optimism in publicizing Occidental's ventures, have been less than enthusiastic over his latest Russian deal.

"He has a long-standing and well-documented habit of counting his chickens before they're hatched," a West Coast oil executive said.

He recalled that, as far back as 1964, Mr. Hammer was talking expansively about a big deal to build fertilizer plants in the Soviet Union and that plans were drawn up for a big complex on the Kamchatka Peninsula. But two years of negotiations came to nothing.

Others suggest that Mr. Hammer may have become involved in this latest "historic agreement," in a Soviet propaganda play aimed at paying the way for the visit of Leonid I. Brezhnev, Soviet Communist party chief, to Washington in June.

This fact may account for Mr. Hammer's uncharacteristic reticence to talk about the deal, they add.

To some observers, April's announcement appears to be a "replay" of even more elaborate plans announced by Mr. Hammer last July, which the Russians have now solved upon as a means of combating opposition in Congress toward the Nixon-Brezhnev detente and the granting of the Soviet Union of more liberal credits and a most-favored-nation tariff status.

Standard and Poor, in an April 20 report on the latest announcement, cautioned investors that the deal is "still awaiting clarification" and that, in any event, it could not be expected to add much more than 30 cents a share to Occidental's business.

The report added that Occidental, despite improved earnings in 1972 and an even more profitable first quarter of 1973, remains a high speculative gamble to be undertaken only by a "hardened risk-taker able to live with its volatility."

Last July, when Mr. Hammer announced a \$3-billion, five-year technical assistance pact with the Russians—broader in scope than the new announcement—the stock market excitedly bid Oxy's stock up more than 50 percent from a low of 11 3/4, despite Department of Commerce warnings against over-optimism. The spurge brought more than \$200 million in profits on sales of 5.7 million Oxy shares.

On that earlier occasion, the deal was to include not only a chemical fertilizer complex and pipelines, but also joint oil and gas exploration, metal-treating plants, processing of solid wastes and rather grandiose plans for building hotels and a large trade center in Moscow. Nothing has been heard recently of those more far-reaching projects.

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Further, Okinawa took on Japan's tariffs and taxes, which are high on many imported consumer items, when it left the American trading bloc. A conspicuous exception is imported liquor, which has been temporarily exempted to keep prices a third of those in Japan and attract Japanese tourists.

As for land, an economist attributed the tremendous prices largely to the excessive liquidity of Japanese companies. "They're coming in here to buy land and drive the prices up," he said.

Before reversion the dollar was Okinawa's currency. The combination of the switch from dollar to yen and the devaluation of the dollar and the upward revaluation of the yen has drastically cut the personal spending of the 68,000 American servicemen, civilian officials and dependents here.

With reversion and the consolidation of some bases, the end of the American involvement in Vietnam and restrictions on the U.S. military budget, about 10,000 of 50,000 workers at American bases have been laid off.

The economy has many bright spots. Every block in Naha, the capital, seems to have a construction job. Shops are full of everyday needs. Hotels are packed with tourists. Wages are estimated to be up 48 percent over a year ago, counting the yen revaluation. About 2,000 new cars are imported each month, making this once-serene tropical isle a driver's nightmare.

American officials said that Gov. Yara and other officials seemed to be growing into their jobs. "It has been a year of learning for everyone," an American commented.

● An inexperienced prefectural, or state, government. The governor, Chobyo Yara, the leftist former teacher who led the reversion movement, is widely criticized. Heading a semi-revolutionary reversion effort was one thing, his detractors say, running a prefectural government is a task of another order.

Moreover, the reversion has been only a modest plus in U.S. relations with Japan. American officials said that there had been no outpouring of gratitude, but they quickly added that U.S. retention of Okinawa would have been politically disastrous.

The island, where 900,000 of the million Ryukyu Islanders live, was for centuries a crossroads in the East China Sea influenced in turn by the Chinese, Koreans and Japanese. It came under American control after the last great battle in the Pacific.

Okinawans strive to be themselves. Said an intellectual: "In the Okinawan mentality, we are Okinawans first and Japanese second. We want our own culture and, at the same time, national identity as Japanese."

But an Okinawan businessman said: "We have really been stunned by the power of the Japanese businessmen."

"The Japanese attitude toward the Okinawans borders on arrogance," an American remarked. "They've tried to go half and half with the Okinawans, but it usually ends up with the Japanese getting the top half and the Okinawans the bottom half."

It is estimated that consumer prices have jumped an average of 25 percent in the last year, with some food prices tripling. An Okinawan economist said that the inflation was mostly imported from Japan, where prices have risen sharply. "We might have

been insulated from that if there had been no reversion," he added.

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Further, Okinawa took on Japan's tariffs and taxes, which are high on many imported consumer items, when it left the American trading bloc. A conspicuous exception is imported liquor, which has been temporarily exempted to keep prices a third of those in Japan and attract Japanese tourists.

As for land, an economist attributed the tremendous prices largely to the excessive liquidity of Japanese companies. "They're coming in here to buy land and drive the prices up," he said.

Before reversion the dollar was Okinawa's currency. The combination of the switch from dollar to yen and the devaluation of the dollar and the upward revaluation of the yen has drastically cut the personal spending of the 68,000 American servicemen, civilian officials and dependents here.

With reversion and the consolidation of some bases, the end of the American involvement in Vietnam and restrictions on the U.S. military budget, about 10,000 of 50,000 workers at American bases have been laid off.

The economy has many bright spots. Every block in Naha, the capital, seems to have a construction job. Shops are full of everyday needs. Hotels are packed with tourists. Wages are estimated to be up 48 percent over a year ago, counting the yen revaluation. About 2,000 new cars are imported each month, making this once-serene tropical isle a driver's nightmare.

American officials said that Gov. Yara and other officials seemed to be growing into their jobs. "It has been a year of learning for everyone," an American commented.

● An inexperienced prefectural, or state, government. The governor, Chobyo Yara, the leftist former teacher who led the reversion movement, is widely criticized. Heading a semi-revolutionary reversion effort was one thing, his detractors say, running a prefectural government is a task of another order.

Moreover, the reversion has been only a modest plus in U.S. relations with Japan. American officials said that there had been no outpouring of gratitude, but they quickly added that U.S. retention of Okinawa would have been politically disastrous.

The island, where 900,000 of the million Ryukyu Islanders live, was for centuries a crossroads in the East China Sea influenced in turn by the Chinese, Koreans and Japanese. It came under American control after the last great battle in the Pacific.

Okinawans strive to be themselves. Said an intellectual: "In the Okinawan mentality, we are Okinawans first and Japanese second. We want our own culture and, at the same time, national identity as Japanese."

But an Okinawan businessman said: "We have really been stunned by the power of the Japanese businessmen."

"The Japanese attitude toward the Okinawans borders on arrogance," an American remarked. "They've tried to go half and half with the Okinawans, but it usually ends up with the Japanese getting the top half and the Okinawans the bottom half."

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NIGHTMARE—Modern traffic problems have been imported to once-serene Okinawa.

An Abrupt Awakening for Okinawa

By Richard Halloran

NAAHA, Okinawa (NYT)—In the lighthearted play "The Teahouse of the August Moon," the witty Sakini noted philosophically that Okinawans had managed to survive the coming of the Chinese and Japanese in the past and would somehow do the same with the Americans who had just arrived.

That was in 1945, right after World War II. Today, Sakini might well sigh: "And now that the Japanese have come back, we Okinawans will find a way to outlast them again."

A year ago the Stars and Stripes was hoisted down after having flown over Okinawa for 27 years. Japan's Rising Sun was run up, fulfilling an emotional, nationalistic drive both here and in Japan.

Reversion has not been the rosy dream most Okinawans and Japanese expected. In fact, it has generated a whole set of dissatisfactions. A recent survey by Ryukyu Shimpo, a leading newspaper, found that only 24.4 percent of the Okinawans were satisfied with reversion, compared with 62 percent who had advocated it in a similar poll last fall.

Among the major troubles that have arisen in the last year are:

● A struggle by Okinawans to retain their own cultural identity. They are striving to keep from being overwhelmed politically and economically by the hard-charging Japanese.

● Severe economic problems, including intense consumer inflation imported from Japan. Land prices sent soaring by Japanese speculators, the switch from a devalued dollar to a revalued yen economy and reductions in jobs at American bases.



Anytime. Anyplace. Anywhere.

The right one

Stand square to the bar. Take the base of the glass firmly, but with a relaxed grip. Then without taking your eyes off the ice cube, bring Martini & Rossi up to your lips in one smooth action.

Martini & Rossi
The most beautiful drink in the world.



Testing Time

This week, the Senate investigation of Watergate and the aura of crime and folly associated with it moves into the testing period—the time when charges, rumors, and hearsay are sifted to determine, so far as is humanly possible, the hard facts of the case and what its ramifications may be. There can no longer be any doubt that the sorry business is wide in extent and sombre in its implications, but what does that extent, and those implications, hold for the American system?

Already there has been broader and deeper speculation about the workings of American government under the Constitution than at any time since the New Deal. The nature of the controversy makes the presidency the primary target of reformist proposals, but the other branches must also be considered in any suggestion of change, whether radical or more modest, in the allocation of authority.

For the separation of powers has never been so complete as much of the current discussion would imply. To strengthen Congress at the expense of the presidency may be in order now, but this does not mean that Congress has never gone beyond the role which the spirit, if not the actual wording, of an admittedly elastic Constitution would dictate.

This was certainly the case when Congress confronted Andrew Johnson, the successor of Abraham Lincoln who, in a time of great national crisis, stretched the powers of the presidency to a degree unknown before the Civil War. Congress disputed Johnson's application of Lincoln's theory of reconstruction in the South and in doing so enacted such legislation as the Tenure of Office Act, which required senatorial assent

to the removal of federal officers, including those in the President's cabinet. And when Johnson defied the act, Congress impeached him and came within one vote of expelling him from office. Whatever one may think of the respective policies of Johnson and Congress, the latter assumed powers that were potentially dangerous.

And the courts? In the United States they have more authority over other branches than most constitutions permit. But the federal bench is appointed by the President and approved by the Senate; members of it can be, and have been, impeached by Congress. Moreover, to a very large extent, the courts are dependent on the executive and the legislative branches to make their decisions effective. When Chief Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court tried to mitigate the effects of the Removal Act of 1830—probably the great single crime committed by the United States government against the American Indian—the President, Andrew Jackson, is said to have commented: "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it." In any case, with no effective opposition from Congress, most of the Indians east of the Mississippi were either killed, or forced along the "trail of tears" to the West.

The three branches of government must continue to co-exist in the uneasy but general symbiosis that has endured throughout constitutional history. There is no solution of the problems posed by Watergate in subordinating the presidency to the other arms of government—beyond what the Constitution may prescribe. The case has already given a salutary rebuke to excessive presidential authority. More may be required—but it is neither wise nor necessary to place any greater reliance on Congress or the courts than their own histories have shown to be practicable.

Gold Fever

The soaring speculation in gold last week is still another reason. If anyone needs one, why gold ought never again be used as money. The amount of private wealth on the world's money market is rising much faster than the supply of gold, making it possible for speculators to run the price to unprecedented heights. Even in quiet times, gold has many commercial uses that interfere with its role as money. The present times are not quiet. As Congress laboriously proceeded last week with the bill to drop the dollar's legal price to \$42.22 for an ounce of gold, gold was actually being sold on the Paris market at \$128 an ounce. The episode illustrates the absurdity of pretending that the value of the dollar is related to gold. Some legal fictions are useful, but this one is not.

The reasons for the present price of gold are neither obscure nor complicated. Two devaluations have undermined the idea that the dollar represents the ultimate in financial safety. Foreign bankers have become increasingly uneasy in recent months about the rate of inflation in this country. Now the Watergate scandals have led the men who manage money to wonder whether this country's government will still be able to act quickly and decisively on economic policy.

It is a climate that creates great anxiety among those people who control large sums of money. Some of this money is now going into gold, the most traditional of shelters. Some of it is going into other commodities: tin, rubber, soybeans, Scotch whiskey. Some is going into paintings, and some into real estate. The trouble with all of these refuges, from the investor's viewpoint, is that they do not pay interest. The investors try to compensate by speculating on rising prices. Certainly, in the case of gold, they have been rewarded beyond imagination.

This whole episode confirms the wisdom and prudence of the major trading nations in their decisions, last winter, to let their currencies float. The European and Japanese governments are no longer committed to support the exchange rates of their money against the dollar. As a result, currency speculators can no longer raid national treasuries and enrich themselves at the expense of those countries' taxpayers. The private businessman can buy and sell currencies only on the private market, where exchange rates are left to supply and demand. As a result, one speculator can gain only where another loses. The carnivores in the jungle are reduced to eating each other up and that, for the rest of us, is a perfectly satisfactory state of affairs. The price of gold can swing back and forth forever without damaging any public interest, as long as no one confuses it with the value of money. The exchange rates of money can also continue to bounce and juggle around quite a lot without seriously hurting anyone.

The danger is that, as time passes, governments will itch to recapture control of these rates. Countries with sinking currencies will begin to fear for their standards of living. Those with rising rates will try, increasingly openly, to protect their exports and the jobs that those exports represent. That is why the world will not rock along indefinitely under the present rules—or more accurately, the present lack of rules. A move to draw up new rules has been under way, intermittently, for the past year and a half. But only the United States, as the largest trader and the largest debtor, can provide leadership. If the force of that leadership should fall into serious doubt, we can expect to see further wild speculation in currency, gold, and every other imaginable commodity disrupting the world's markets.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

International Opinion

Zambian Question

Zambia is responsible for the appalling cold blooded murder of two Canadian girl tourists at the scenic Victoria Falls. The Zambian government's tardy explanation is weak and does not even fit the facts. It also leaves it clear that Zambian troops either are given too bloodthirsty orders or themselves act irresponsibly. The only argument to which Zambia and her supporters

can fall back is the familiar, though utterly dangerous and invalid one, that tyranny in Rhodesia is so monstrous that any violation of international law by her neighbors, however monstrous, is justified. But this is the very opposite of the standards that are accepted elsewhere. In Berlin, for instance, it is not the aggrieved Westerners who are shooting across the wall but the totalitarian East German Communists.

—From the Daily Telegraph (London).

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

May 21, 1898

PARIS—With the death of Mr. W.E. Gladstone at the age of 88, there passes away a great figure of the closing century. No contemporary Englishman was, perhaps, as well known throughout the world; none had played a greater part in the destinies of his country, for more than 60 years, and none enjoyed greater popularity or more admiration, and doubtless for that very reason, suffered keener reproach. Not just England, but the world, is poorer by his death.

Fifty Years Ago

May 21, 1923

PARIS—M. Georges Clemenceau is sticking to his determination not to return to the Parliamentary arena, despite all the efforts of his friends to persuade him to change his mind. He has reiterated his decision in response to the invitation to represent his native Department of the Vendée. Although his friends assured him that his candidacy would be backed by a union of parties, he declined, saying that at the age of 83 he would not accept, even if nominated.



Late Returns

Go Along and Get Along?

By James Reston

WASHINGTON—The main rule for political success in this town for many years and even many generations has been that "to get along you have to go along," and now all the characters in the Watergate case who followed this rule are beginning to wonder.

Nobody "went along" with the President more than Haldeman and Ehrlichman, and even McCord, Hunt, Liddy and all the other cooperative characters, but now most of them are either in jail or on television telling how they lost their way and should not be put in jail.

This hurts a lot of people and also the White House but maybe what is now hurting the administration may in the end help the Republic.

At the end of the first week of the Senate hearings on Watergate, nothing has been settled, but everything in American political life has been affected and is now subject to change for the better.

Nixon Damaged

President Nixon has been seriously and perhaps irreparably damaged. The conspiratorial secrecy that he loved has been destroyed before the television cameras. His attempts to enhance the power of the presidency at the expense of the Congress have eroded his own power and enhanced the power of Capitol Hill.

His war on permissiveness has been exposed as a fraud by his permissive associates. He established a politburo in the White House that was supposed to run everything efficiently and in the end was not able even to run itself.

More testimony may change the picture, but already enough unchallenged evidence has been put on the record to stain the administration and paradoxically to rescue the nation from its slide from politics into a form of political warfare.

In the short run, there are some awkward problems. The dollar is under pressure again partly because the European money managers think the President is weaker and may not have enough authority now to control inflation in the United States.

Also, the prevailing cynicism of the young critics of American society at home is likely to get

worse for a while, since Mr. Nixon, exonerated or not, will almost certainly remain in office for 3 1/2 years more.

Nevertheless, some good things are likely to come out of this mess. The reaction of many political leaders here of both parties is almost one of relief. They have been living with a system of campaign financing that they knew to be a scandal, and even many of those who benefited by it would be glad to see it destroyed.

It took the Watergate and its associated crimes and stupidities to break the system. The thing could not have been done without the friction of a disgraceful scandal or the leadership of a President who was determined to break the campaign financial corruption—and we haven't had the latter.

Also the Watergate has exposed all kinds of other corruption that has grown in Washington over the years.

Most of the politicians have succumbed to the idea of "going along."

This influenced the Watergate tragedy all along the line. The President himself encouraged it. Anybody who didn't "go along" with what he wanted was regarded with suspicion, and often treated as his enemy.

The cast of characters in this tragedy is full of men who got into trouble because, out of ambition, fear or confusion of loyalty, they merely followed the old "go-along" system.

Watergate Results

What the Watergate has done is to make a great many people around here realize that a whole lifetime of hard work and even good intentions can quickly be destroyed simply by failure to tell the truth or by obstructing justice by silence, or by taking money that they know they should not have taken.

The important and beneficial consequences of Watergate lie, not only in new campaign financing laws, but in these personal indiscretions. Until Watergate, dishonesty and political backscratching paid his dividends around here, and of course it will go on, but now a lot of people in this town—in the White House, the cabinet, the Congress, the bureaucracy and the press—are emboldened to take a different

line—to tell the truth and take their chances.

This is the main hope of the Watergate. It is not yet finished—in fact it has just begun—but every day's testimony before the Senate committee is a drop of poison in the old system, and maybe as a result of these hearings, the system will eventually be changed.

Where and When Will It End?

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS—Like the word "Vietnam" with which it has curiously managed to get entangled, "Watergate" has developed into a sort of code symbol for Americans' disgruntlement with themselves, their leaders and their destiny, disgruntlement on a scale transcending both in scope and in intensity even the sordid tragedy of itself.

A socially political, moral, and legal scandal has become involved with major issues of national security and foreign policy, with the purposes of the United States, with bitter debates about the Constitution and the respective powers assigned to the three branches of government.

By now the whole affair—political espionage and cover-up—seems tied willfully to things unrelated to Watergate like legislative efforts to control U.S. diplomacy, executive authority to take military actions, and the question of how far special agencies may go in efforts to safeguard national security.

Moreover, the evident popular disillusionment and confusion has

tempted to tailor inherited notions to reality. The thought that a Pax Americana would be supported for appreciable period of time by delusory. The country's diplomatic commitments were over-extended by pastomania. The communist military establishment was extended in terms of what were ready to accept. The country's generosity was over-extended in terms of foreign aid; consequence was that the debt which had become a token debt more important than gold, immensely overvalued.

Orderly efforts to adjust swollen position which, it now comes clear, the majority of Americans no longer have been deeply disturbed movements historians associate with those two words "Vietnam" and "Watergate," unpopular war of a sort of similar to Americans, who are tasted defeat and couldn't see it, was swiftly succeeded by unpopular political scandal (a sort that was also unfamiliar which tarnished the presidential myth. This in turn managed trigger off latent discontent.

Breshnev's Stance

Watergate has become too even among people who have no idea what it implies. There is grave risk we will to pay heavily abroad for. Certainly when Breshnev to Washington next month will have in his pocket asking prices for bargaining hopes to conclude.

Chou En-lai has subtly his friends in the White House about evolving policy in Japan, West Europe, while ing for another year on the is showering skepticism on Atlantic alliance.

Indochina once again threat to come apart as suspicion is that the United States is all, not only a paper tiger, but a battered one at that. And Middle East shows new sign volatile fury. Where and when will it all end?

Nixon's Role

The United States hadn't sought power. It was thrust upon a nation neither psychologically nor politically ready for it. Efforts by successive Presidents—Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson—to rally public support for such a concept were of limited duration. Indeed, Nixon's principal role seems to have been an at-

Letters

Rogers at State

"Politics and Ambassadors" (EIT, May 18) demonstrates once again the weakness of always "cooperative" State Department "head" William Rogers.

Last week our secretary of state demonstrated his fawning role by assuring Mr. Nixon, in the light of Watergate, that he had the full support of the American people. During his tenure at State he has allowed Nixon and Kissinger to use his office as a doormat. He has weakened the State Department shamefully.

No wonder career officers' morale is low! Their weak position, 3 out of 18 posts in Western Europe, is due in largest part to Rogers' unconscionable willingness to prostitute his office to the rawest political cynicism that the U.S. has known for many, many years.

OLIVER ANDREWS, Jr.
Aix-en-Provence.

Europe Shuttle Flights

While all the state-supported and state-owned airlines continue to think up ways to mislead the public with incomprehensible fare structures, one wonders whether they have given any thought to the continuing and ludicrous spectacle of a gaggle of stewards and stewardesses frantically trying to serve a plane-load of stale lunches complete with bar service, on intra-European flights of not much more than an hour (often less).

Is there anyone else who thinks that a flight such as, say, Paris-Frankfurt, should be treated like the shuttle flight it is? Let them get rid of most of the cabin crew, eliminate the plastic forks and plastic food, and cut the fare. For those who think they will starve en route, box lunches can be peddled in the air terminal. That is all they get on the plane, anyway.

HEITZ-OSTER MULLER
Frankfurt.

The House's Vote

"Historic step... irrefutable expression of no confidence..." (New York Times editorial in EIT of May 12-13). Come on, now. Such naive praise of the House's recent vote curtailing Cambodian defense funds shows a lack of political sophistication.

It is clear that the many Nixonian Republicans in the House of Representatives voted for the Adabo amendment after being relieved of their responsibility by Elliot Richardson. The secretary of defense had earlier stated that our bombing effort would not be obstructed by congressional rejection of the transfer authority, thus cutting the strings and enabling each representative to act independently without any repercussions and to save face with their respective constituencies.

CLIFFORD BASS
Copenhagen.

Conquest by Agreement

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

KONTUM CITY, South Vietnam.—Secret, illicit arrangements are being made with Communist forces by low-level government troop commanders defending this embattled provincial capital, a development pointing up the limits and dangers of local accommodation in South Vietnam.

From the start of the "cease-fire" on Jan. 27, the Communists have sought accommodation on the lowest military level and all widely overruled to their own advantage. But their only consistent success has been in Kontum where government troops are weak, demoralized and fearful.

In these terms, local accommodation scarcely seems a panacea for Vietnam. Many experts have forecast that the Vietnamese will finally settle their differences not in formal negotiations but informally between local military and political leaders. Instead, local accommodation since the cease-fire has merely supplemented the overriding Communist strategy of military pressure.

A recent incident here is instructive. Troops from the North Vietnamese 320th Division, in one of innumerable Communist cease-fire violations, attacked a regional force (RF) company of territorial troops occupying high ground just west of Kontum City. The RF soldiers fled in terror. A new RF unit was brought in and preparations made to counterattack.

Why Fight?

At that point, Lt. Col. Bui Hap, Kontum Province chief, received a call on his radio frequency from the North Vietnamese territorial commander. His suggestion: "Why fight? Just let us keep the high ground, and no blood will flow. When Col. Hap refused, he received a second call—from the regiment's political commissar—with the same proposal. He again refused, and the battle resumed.

The province chief was obeying the Saigon high command's edict that no officer below division commander negotiate with the enemy. But low-level commanders around Kontum, who would rather share food with Communist troops (eager for C-rations and cigarettes) than exchange fire with them, regularly disobey the rule.

Brig. Gen. Tran Van Cam, commander of the 23d South

North Vietnamese force swept to Kontum City's during the 1972 offensive were not pushed back by 23d Division's lackluster offensive late last year. C-ration, the Saigon reg holds only 5 percent of Kontum Province (although nearly percent of its population). Kontum City is an enclave, defensible against any major Communist offensive without the support from U.S. B-52s.

Through the Vietnam local accommodation has occurred where government troops were either of poor quality or too few. That in itself is a sign of Vietnam's internal weakness. The tale sign is the infrequency accommodation elsewhere in South Vietnam where the military situation, though dangerous, vastly less gloomy than in Kontum.

tempt to tailor inherited notions to reality. The thought that a Pax Americana would be supported for appreciable period of time by delusory. The country's diplomatic commitments were over-extended by pastomania. The communist military establishment was extended in terms of what were ready to accept. The country's generosity was over-extended in terms of foreign aid; consequence was that the debt which had become a token debt more important than gold, immensely overvalued.

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ملتان، پاکستان

Bond Sales on the New York Stock Exchange

(Continued on Page 11, Cal)

Secretariat Race Away from the Triple Crown



United Press International.

travelling of racing's triple crown.
 2 1/2 lengths ahead of Sham.

Wins No. 10

rified to second. Losing pitcher
 George Culver, who had taken
 over from Claude Cseten in the
 eighth inning, intentionally
 walked Darrell Evans, but Aaron
 spoiled that strategy with a
 sharp single to left.

Aaron R. Glavin 7

the backstretch to check the progress of the other horses. Who's There?

s check back whenever I hear a whip crack or a horse Turcott said.

the whip-cracking Turcott heard yesterday was done by Jay Jr., aboard Sigmund Sommer's Sham.

Derby, Sham had the lead turning for home, and had nailed him in the stretch.

7 it was Secretariat in front with a hand-ride through Sham, under heavy left-handed whipping, trying to catch him.

1961; Northern Dancer, 1964; Kana King, 1966; Majestic Prince, 1969; and Canonero II, 1971.

Burgoo King and Bold Venture did not compete in the Belmont. Then there is the special case of Forward Pass, finally declared the Derby victor—by a court decision—over Dancer's image after running second in 1968. Forward Pass also won the Preakness but failed in the Belmont.

Gottfried Beats
Romania Gains

White of Chicago and Brad Park of the New York Rangers third with 35 apiece.

***Ashe in Final;
in Davis Cup***

Renetsem for the clinching point:

Tigers 4, Brewers 2
Ed Brinkman tripled home two runs in the ninth inning and Joe Coleman pitched a six-hitter as Detroit retained first place in the East with a 4-3 road victory over Milwaukee.

Twins 3, White Sox 3
Larry Riele cracked out four

on what many of the riders described as the most dangerous curve of the 350-cc world championship event. Pasolini skidded on a curve while trying to overtake Germany's Dieter Braun and Ulf, and Saarinen, following close

"I am above all an engineer and I want to work as such," Saarinen said. "The motorcycle races are my great passion, but in regard to life, they must remain only a pastime."

[illegible]

finished the tie yesterday by
 clinching the doubles as Jürgen
 Flach and Hans-Jürgen
 Guttman beat Roger Taylor
 and David Lloyd, 7-6, 6-3, 6-4. In
 today's best singles, Arlton Mac-
 cormack beat Karl Meiler, 4-6, 6-4,
 6-3. The German defeated
 Roger Taylor, 6-4, 6-6, 6-3.
 The Italians routed Bulgaria,
 4-0; Spain edged Sweden with
 a 3-2 margin. Oranges beating O's
 Los Angeles 3, Atlanta 3.
 Houston 3, San Francisco 1.
 Saturday's games
 St. Louis at Montreal, rain.
 Chicago at New York, rain.
 Philadelphia 3, 0, Chicago 0, 7.
 St. Louis 7, 1, Atlanta 1, 2.
 Cincinnati 10, San Diego 4.
 Houston 2, San Francisco 1.
 Sunday's games
 Pittsburgh at New York, rain.
 Chicago at Philadelphia, rain.
 San Francisco at Montreal,
 Montreal 4, St. Louis 1, 7.
 San Diego 2, Cincinnati 1, 2.
 Atlanta 2, Los Angeles 1.

Saturday's Games
Minnesota & Chicago 2.
St. Louis & Milwaukee 1.
San Francisco & New York 1.
Philadelphia & Cleveland 2.
Washington & Baltimore 1.
San Diego & New York 1.
California 2, Texas 1.

Sunday's Games
St. Louis & Chicago 2.
San Francisco & Cleveland 2.
Texas & Philadelphia 1.
San Diego & Baltimore 1.
Washington & New York 1.
San Francisco 1, Chicago 2 (1st).
Chicago 2, Minnesota 2.
St. Louis & Cleveland 2.

Jerry Quarry Fights
NEW YORK, May 20 (AP).—Jerry Quarry, hoping to solidify his position as a lightweight contender, and Jose Luis Garcia, making his New York debut, will meet in a 12-round heavyweight bout June 18 at Madison Square Garden. It was announced Thursday.

France next plays the Soviet Union in Moscow May 26 in the deciding Group 9 match.

With the Russians one point ahead in the standings, France must win on Russia's home ground to qualify.

The Group 8 winner then plays the South American Group 3 victor—Chile or Peru—for the right to play in the finals next week in West Germany.

The Italians routed Bulgaria,
 0; Spain edged Sweden with
 Samuel Orantes beating Ove
 Pittsburgh at New York, rain.
 Chicago at Philadelphia, rain.
 Houston 3, San Francisco 5.
 Montreal 4, St. Louis 1.
 San Diego 2, Cincinnati 1, 2.
 Atlanta 3, Los Angeles 2.

Kansas City at Oakland.
Texas at California.
Boston at Baltimore, Md.
Milwaukee 1, Chicago 0 (1st).
Chicago 9, Minnesota 3.
New York 4, Cleveland 2, 2.

The Group 3 winner then plays the South American Group 3 victor—Chile or Peru—for the right to play in the finals next year in West Germany.

